000 they are obliged to assemble in order to keep them down. Furthermore,
437 we may see the alarming case in which the commercial transactions of
556
152 some individuals with the Island of al-Husaima undergo a considerable increase; their gains, fabulously augmented through envy and general misery, permit their rivals to throw doubts and suspicion on the real origin of their opulence; having no other source of wealth, the latter impute frightful treacheries to them. Perhaps a bloodfeud or an
628
177 accusation deprived more than one Amhaw (sing. of Imhawren) of a large Spanish pension from the above island[34].....All this and the constant
613
623 inter-lineage hatreds charged the atmosphere in such a way that somebody had the idea, eagerly grasped by the rest, to hold a meeting in order to put an end to such a calamitous state of affairs.

623 When the date is established and has arrived, the meeting is held, without discussion of anything other than details, for in the preparatory work, as we have said, the participants have already reached the stage of assembling their criteria. There is no delay in expressing whatever must be considered a crime, nor even in the type and importance of the punishment, for as all of them committed sins or hoped for an occasion to do so, they had to establish a moderate punishment under a savage exterior, and, above all, a guarantee of not becoming enveloped in bloodfeuds.

623 For this reason, the popular assembly makes a collective and
687 graphic insult (Blanco: note b, in text), although afterwards this is
685 limited to a fine (Blanco" note c, in text) of fairly sizeable proportions which is imposed upon the smuggler and informer from al-Husaima Island or on a thief, in place of exterminating him. Thus pubbic

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

Chapter 3

VARIETIES OF SOCIAL EXPENSE: BIRTH AND MARRIAGE

121
437 The Riffian then is an agriculturalist, a fellah, who keeps small herds of livestock. Our problem is what does he do with his herd and his cereals once the subsistence needs of himself and his family have been met. If he followed Smith's dictum he would 'by instinct' seek out another individual with whom he could exchange his superfluous product in order to gain a profit. Such exchanges do, of course, take place. Ecological differentiation, for one factor, causes the exchange of special objects from one region to another. Occupational specialization requires the fellah to seek out opportunities for exchanging his produce in the most opportune way in order to acquire services and goods outside his range of competence. The question however is, are these forms of exchange the most frequent, do they account for the most significant amount of distribution, and are they culturally or ideologically the most valued types of exchange? If the answer is no, then we must seek out what sort of exchanges do fulfill the above functions. The study of the circulation of goods must proceed sui generis.

121
556 In order to derive the relative importance of the various uses of wealth in the Rif, I shall commence with an analysis of the distribution of wealth related to some of the life crises of the Berber.

443 The third group is those merchants who exclusively sell
442 at the market. As noted above, this is merely an analytic device. Empirically, a buyer in one market will be a seller in another. It is only the special ecological conditions of the Rif which separate the two categories in the marketplaces. There is, however, a major dichotomy which splits this group, based mainly on scale of operation. On the one hand are the large-scale sellers who resemble, in terms of organization, the large-scale buyers and who derive their profit mainly through the transportational facility. On the other hand, we have the small-scale merchant who sells his goods and services only in a cycle of small local markets.

443 The small-scale sellers hold in common with the large merchants only the fact that their basic activity is to sell. The difference is essentially in scale. The small-scale merchant or occupational specialist travels from one market within a carefully defined region to the next market. He has no con-
[494] [492] nections outside his immediate circuit and gets from one place to the next on public transportation or mule. He has little knowledge of market conditions outside his immediate view of
[435] [437] a single market. His prices, which may involve a good deal of bargaining, vary only slightly from customer to customer and
443 445 from market to market. He may be divided into two empirical categories: those who sell services, such as barbers, butchers, shoe repairmen, food vendors, blacksmiths, solderers, etc., and those who keep a small inventory of nonperishable goods, such

443 as clothes, kerosene, sandals, rugs, blankets, hardware, and
445 spices.

443 A final group of market participants is the shop and cafe
444 owners--those men who have purchased or inherited business shops which ring the market. Within such shops one can purchase most of the commodities that the fellah seeks for household consump-
443 tion. In all the marketplace, the only appearance of credit is
444 in such shops where, based on one's personal reputation, payments
452 can be spread into the future. With all the other participants
(439) of the suq, each transaction must be culminated by an exchange of cash for goods. It is only in the local shops and with local tribesmen that honour guarantees a purchase. In the Rif when people interact in the market yet are not part of the same community, payment has no guarantee except an immediate exchange of cash. In the shops the local fellah, if they have maintained trust, may purchase without money. As a shop owner explained to me: "We live in a poor country. How else could the people buy?" There is no interest charged on such credit.

443 These, then, are the perimeters of the marketplace. I
571 shall now discuss the functional relationships obtaining within
(128) this complex. By discovering who interacts and with what degree, we shall be in a better position to evaluate the role of the
442 Berber in the market. First, we note that the large-scale buyers
443 do not interact in the local markets with the large-scale sellers.
571 This is a function of size and transporting. Any firm operating at this magnitude in the markets of the Central Rif realizes its

443 438 undoubtedly, in the fact that each production unit is a replica of all the other units. Each seller has the same commodities, in about the same proportions and selling for similar prices. Individual (A) has commodities x and y which he wishes to sell in order to buy z. Individual (B) has the same commodities which he seeks to dispose of in order to achieve the same goal. And so forth, throughout the whole of the assembled tribesmen. What exchange does take place among the fellah exists, for the most part, as a function of slight ecological differentiation between local areas.

The fellah, by and large, enters the market and disposes of his goods at whatever price they will fetch, either to fellow tribesmen or merchants from the outside. Naturally he seeks the best return that he can get, but his motivations lie far from the rest of the merchants who seek capital accumulation. His [437] desire is to acquire cash for tobacco, tea, sugar, cooking oil, kerosene, and a kilo of fish or meat, or to transfer his gain back into the status economy of which he is so much a part. He partakes of the selling process for only as long as it is absolutely necessary. Ideally, he should not even need to sell.

443 829 Unlike the peasants of many areas (Guatemala and Mexico come to mind), the average Riffian is not a "marketeer" and marketing is not a primary household activity. In an ethnographic study of the small village of San Antonino in Oaxaca, Mexico, I was impressed by the fact that everyone seemed to be deeply concerned about what went on in the market. Many of the

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Descent is patrilineal, and the number of paternal relatives a Moroccan can remember is always greater than the number on the mother's side.[6]

The important details of social stratification show little variation within the northern zone. Real or alleged descendants of the Prophet constitute the highest class. Among tribesmen, the most respected and important class is composed of gentlemen farmers. At the bottom of the scale are blacksmiths, market weighers and criers, musicians and dancers, and tinkers or other itinerant artisans. The Jews, regardless of their profession, are lowest in the scale.

Besides these aspects of religion and social organization, there are many features of settlement and livelihood that show little variation within the northern zone. The basic unit of settlement is the hamlet or farmstead. Settlements of more than a few hundred inhabitants are rare. For every farmer who grows cash crops there are at least a hundred others who are concerned only with their own or community needs. In all Morocco, subsistence farming and barter govern rural economy, and trading takes place at weekly markets held in the open air. One of the clearest expressions of cultural diversity is the division of northern Morocco into zones of Arabic and Berber speech, a division which coincides with other cultural frontiers. Generally speaking, the eastern half of the area (Rif, Garet, Gal'aya) retains Berber speech, whereas the western half (Jbala, Ghmara) has been Arabized. The historical and cultural factors that have brought about this division will be considered in chapter iii.

A state, by minimum definition, is an extent of inhabited territory presided over by a government capable of asserting its authority. During most of its history, Morocco was hardly a state in this sense of the word. One of the important themes of Moroccan history is the division of the country into lands of government (*bilad al-makhzen*) and lands of dissidence (*bilad as-siba*). The belligerence of the free tribes was based not only on their hatred of taxes[7] and authoritarian order but also on their inability to conceive of any social or political unit larger than the tribe or confederation of tribes. Most of the Rif was part of the land of dissidence.[8] Jbala and Ghmara formed an intermediate zone, neither submissive nor openly rebellious in the face of domination from without. The plains of Wad Lukkus and the Gharb were easier to subdue.

Dissidence was expressed in intertribal and intratribal conflict as well as in opposition to the central government. In most of the Rif, and especially in Aith Wariyaghar, quarrels over ownership of land, water rights, and personal affronts led to blood feuds of extraordinary savagery. Some feuds did not end until one of the participating families was exterminated. Feuding and the necessity for defense gave rise to a complex system of alliances based in part upon moieties. In the days before the Spanish occupation, each house in Aith Wariyaghar had

[6] In popular writings Berber society is sometimes described as being influenced by matriarchy. This assumption is based upon the fact that Berber women are much more active and unabashed than the Arabized women of the towns; it is based also upon the tradition that the Garmantians were led by a queen or prophetess. E.-F. Gautier, "The Monument of Tin Hanan in the Ahaggar," *Geog. Rev.*, 24 (1934), 439–443.

[7] *Makhzen* comes from the verb *khazana*, "to lock up" or "to hoard." The word is synonymous with "government" and more especially with the treasury department. E. Michaux-Bellaire, "Makhzen," *Encyclopedia of Islam* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1913–1938).

[8] Nevill Barbour, ed., *A Survey of North West Africa (the Maghrib)* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), pp. 380–381.